5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut.

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba.

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes.

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau.

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another.

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable.

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each.

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM 2 Hadhramaut MM 2

tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right.

The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets. They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

535 756 pretensions to being medicine-men inform their friends that a Kinyago is to be danced at a certain spot on a certain night, and a crowd consequently congregates there. The medicine-men, most of whom in Malindi District apart from Giryama are of Shambala slave origin, make themselves up with the help of clothes stuffed with grass to represent certain wild animals, such as elephants, lions, etc. A ring having been made in the waiting crowd, a medicine-man thus disguised as an animal suddenly dashes from behind a convenient bush and enters the ring, where he capers about and makes a noise in imitation of the beast he represents. On getting tired he retires again behind the convenient bush, and another disguised medicine-man [533] takes his place in the ring and so on. A *msondo* drum is used, described above (see Ki-Nyasa dance). The crowd takes no part in the performance.

535 527 756 The Kinyago is, of course, a heathen dance from Nyasaland imported by slaves. It takes place usually after a good harvest, and is intended more or less as a thanksgiving to the spirits that control the rain and the abundance of food generally. It is also intended by the medicine-men to impress the people with the powers which they ascribe to themselves of being able to change the shape of their bodies into that of any wild animal. But these pretensions are not accorded much credence nowadays in the Malindi District.[1]

1 Ngoma ya Pepo.

776 763 The Swahili word *pepo* is the equivalent of the Arab word *jin*, or devil or evil spirit. The people inhabiting the coastal zone, both Arabs and Swahilis, believe in the existence of these beings, some of whom are considered harmless while others, entering into the human body, create various ills and pains, insensibility or sometimes a demented state accompanied by violent gestures. It is quite evident, even to a layman, that these ills are due to a disturbance of the nervous system of imaginative and highly-strung individuals. Thus one finds that the great majority of the people who get *pepo* are women.

753 533 The native cure for *pepo* is principally drumming. The natives of Africa are particularly sensitive to rhythm, pure and simple, even more so perhaps than Europeans. The rhythm of certain kinds of drumming has the effect of exciting the nerves to an ecstatic degree, while other rhythms appear to have the contrary effect upon the nervous system of Africans. It is the latter rhythms that are used as a cure for *pepo*.

This physiological effect of rhythmic drumming is, however, unknown to the inhabitants of the coastal zone, and believing as they do, that the nervous disturbance known as *pepo* is caused by the presence of evil spirits in the body, they set about propitiating the *jin* and putting him in a good temper by giving a drumming

[1] This reminds one of some of the corn dances recorded by Sir J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*; and by Professor Ridgway in his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (1915), pp. 335–374.

1 [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

entertainment in his honour, so as to induce him to depart from the body of the person possessed.

The exorcising of the *pepo* is conducted by a professional man or elderly woman known as a *fundi* or *mganga* who specializes in certain kinds of *pepo*.

The *pepo* themselves are divided into various tribes such as the *pepo ya ki-galla*, *pepo ya ki-arabu*, *pepo ya ki-somali*, *pepo ya ki-shakini*, *pepo ya i-pemba*, *pepo ya ki-nubi*, etc., and some even are said to be like animals, such as the *pepo ya ng'ombe* and the *pepo ya punda*. Besides belonging to various tribes, the *pepo* have individual names similar to those common to human beings of the same tribe. Thus some *pepo ya ki-galla* are known as Guyo, Barsa, Godana, Galgalo, all of which are fairly common amongst the Gallas on the Tana River.

The *pepo* is recognised by the language it speaks through the lips of the person possessed. The *fundis* make out that the language spoken is actually Galla, Somali, Arabic, etc., but that it is an ancient form of these languages, and that no one can understand them but the *fundis* themselves. This, of course, is nonsense, as it is impossible for a person ignorant of a language to speak it suddenly and quite fluently. What actually happens is that the person possessed speaks ordinary Swahili,[1] but being in a state of high nervous tension the voice assumes an unnatural pitch, and the words are spoken indistinctly and interlarded with inarticulate sounds, so that they may be said to assume, with a stretch of imagination, either an Arab, a Somali, or any other accent, and, together with the inarticulate sounds uttered, are interpreted by the "*fundi*" as being ancient Arabic or ancient Somali, or some other ancient language.[2]

Each *fundi* has his own special set of *pepo* whom he knows by name, and to him only will such *pepo* respond. If a *fundi* is called in to attend to a possessed person, and is unable to make the *pepo* speak to him through the lips of the patient, then he knows that the *pepo* in question is not one of his set, but is a client of some other *fundi*. He then withdraws from the case, and suggests to the relations of the patient that such or such *fundi* be called in.

The first step in the treatment of a possessed person is to get the *pepo* to "come into the head" of the patient and speak to the *fundi*, the object of this being to find out from the *pepo* what would be acceptable to him as an offering in order to induce him to depart from the body of the possessed person.

The method of making the *pepo* speak is by administering *dawa*, or native medicine. The various tribes of *pepo* respond each to its particular kind of *dawa*, which in most cases consists of a decoction of roots mixed with leaves of plants found in the bush, and sometimes fresh seaweed. Each *fundi* has, of course, his own secret prescription. The mixture of roots and leaves is placed in a

[1] This is not certain.—C. W. H.

[2] For possession by spirits of other tribes, see Junod, *Les Baronga*, pp. 440, 441.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

763 766 756 776

pot and made to boil. The patient is made to sit close up to the pot, or, if possible, over it, and is then entirely covered with a sheet in such a manner as to allow as little as possible of the vapour from the pot to escape. This is practically a Turkish bath, the effect on the patient being naturally a soothing one, and on leading questions being put to the patient by the *fundi*, the *pepo* will state through the mouth of the sick person who he is and how many days' drumming he would like in order to induce him to depart and leave the patient in peace. This method of applying native medicine is used to make the *pepo* of almost all the heathen tribes respond to the *fundi*, provided, of course, that the *fundi* is the right man for that particular *pepo*, and provided the right decoction of roots and leaves is used.

If the *fundi* called in has a suspicion that the *pepo* he has to deal with belongs to a Moslem tribe, such as Arab, Somali, or Nubi, he does not employ the Turkish bath method in order to induce him to speak, but makes a mixture of camphor, musk, and saffron, with a little water, and writes with it on a plate the various attributes of Allah. By means of a little more of the mixture, the writing is carefully washed off the plate into a cup, and is given to the patient to drink. The camphor has a soothing effect, and the *pepo* then states who he is and what he wants as a propitiation.

The *fundi*, having recognised the *pepo* as one of his set, now comes to an agreement with the relations of the sick person as to the amount of the fees to be given to him. These vary according to the financial position of the relations, but generally range from 5Rs. to 10Rs. Much higher fees are sometimes given, however, and the total expenses, including the cost of the food for the *fundi*, the drummers, and the guests have been known to amount to 300Rs. The *fundi's* fees are paid after he has succeeded in getting rid of the *pepo*.

The drumming and dancing invariably take place indoors, except on the last day when the patient is practically cured, and then the dancing goes on outside the house.

The various kinds of *pepo* believed to seize people in Malindi are :—

Pepo ya ki-galla
Pepo ya ki-sanya
Pepo ya ki-shakini
Pepo ya ki-rima
Pepo ya ki-nyika
Pepo ya ki-pemba
Pepo ya ki-habshi
Pepo ya ki-arabu
Pepo ya ki-somali
Pepo ya ki-nubi
Pepo ya Ng'ombe
Pepo ya Punda

12: Skene G,3-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The names of the *fundis* now practising in Malindi are as follows :— 776 756

Mohamed bin Mhaji
Make Chocho
Habiba wa Jora
Biasha wa Ali
Shaibu wa Saburi
Fundi Ali
Fundi Matano
Said wa Famao
Hussein (a police constable)
Kiranja Mhaji
Mwalim Kai

When a *fundi* has recognised a *pepo* as one of his own, and when the bargain as to the fees to be paid has been made, he sends round to all the other *fundis* and invites them to witness his efforts to exorcise the *pepo*.

New clothes must be bought for the *pepo* in all cases, and they are worn by the patient in the manner of the tribe to which the *pepo* belongs.

The following are detailed descriptions of the procedure followed in exorcising the various kinds of *pepo* who are believed to seize people in Malindi :— 776 756 782 757 171

Pepo ya Ki-galla.

On being called to see a sick person the *fundi* examines the patient and decides whether he is suffering from *pepo* or not. As a rule the decision is in the affirmative. He then orders a "*sadaka*" or sacrifice of food to be made. This varies according to circumstances of the patient and his relations, but it usually consists of boiled rice and goats' meat or fowl. The relations and friends of the sick person partake of this, as well as the *fundi* and his drummers. But before the meal begins, a *mualim* or person versed in the prayers of the Koran is called in and the *fatiko*—*Illa hathuti al habibi Muhamad Nabbi al mustafa* is read over three times. Both prayers and feast take place just outside the house of the patient. But the women remain inside, and the food is taken in to them.

The *fundi* then goes and gets the native medicine necessary to make the *pepo* come into the head of the patient, and state what it wants as propitiation in order to induce it to leave the body of the patient. The medicine used consists of the leaves and small roots of certain trees to be found in the bush. The special kinds of trees used are professional secrets of the *fundis*, each of whom has his own prescription. Certain kinds of sea-weed gathered from coral rocks at low water are sometimes used, and these together with the roots and leaves are pounded together so as to form a paste which is mixed with water and placed in a pot to boil over a fire in the sick-room. The patient is then made to sit on a stool or native bed

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

776 over the pot, or as close as possible, and is entirely covered over with a sheet so as
756 to receive all the vapour from the pot and the heat from the fire.
782

While this primitive method of giving a Turkish bath is being carried out, the
757 *fundi* chants an appropriate song of praise to the *pepo*, and the women, if they
171 know the song, join in and clap their hands in time to the tune. This ceremony takes place soon after sunrise, at mid-day, and in the evening from about 7 p.m. to 8.30 or 9 p.m., each session lasting about an hour to an hour and a half, more or less. After each session the *fundi* questions the *pepo* to ascertain what *pepo* he has to deal with and what propitiation it requires, but the *pepo* may refuse to speak at once, and the same ceremonial is repeated every day up to seven days. If by that time the *pepo* has not spoken, the *fundi* usually comes to the conclusion that the *pepo* in question is not one of his clientele, and he suggests that some other *fundi* be called in.

If, however, success is attained in making the *pepo* speak through the lips of the patient, which is very often the case owing to leading questions being asked by the *fundi*, and perhaps to a certain amount of mental ascendancy on his part, to which a hypnotic element may not be foreign, arrangements are then made to fulfil the desires of the *pepo*, which invariably take the form of an *ngoma* or dance repeated every day for seven days, with or without a *pepo* feast, and a male goat to be ridden by the *pepo* on the last day of the dance.

776 Before the dancing begins, new clothes are bought for the *pepo*, and the patient
535 puts them on. If the latter is a man, a white cloth is tied round his chest and hangs
756 down to his feet and another white cloth is put over the head and shoulders in such
171 a manner as to leave only the face visible, the head and neck being covered. A pair of white cotton trousers tight at the ankle are also worn. If the patient is a woman the same clothes are worn, but the first-mentioned cloth is tied round her waist, and not round the chest as in the case of the man.

Guests are invited, both men and women, but the majority of the dancers at an *ngoma ya pepo* are women. The latter are the only ones allowed to enter the sick room, except the *fundi* and his drummers, and one or two male guests by request of the relations of the patient. The *fundi* and his drummers may also sit in the *ukumbi*, or entrance to the house, according to the wishes of the relations.

The dancing begins at eight or nine o'clock in the morning and lasts for two or three hours, or until the patient, impelled by the *pepo*, lifts his hands as a sign of having had enough for the time being. A second session takes place the same day from about 6 p.m. till 9 p.m., and so on every day till the seventh day.

535 *Pepo ya ki-go'la* generally begins to take part in the dancing on the third
755 day of the dance. The patient, while still seated, begins to jerk his shoulders back-
171 wards and forwards and up and down, in time to the drumming. Then he gradually rises from his seat. A fly-switch, made from the tail of any wild animal which could be used for the purpose is placed in one hand, and a small calabash filled with leaves

(no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

supposed to have medicinal properties is placed in the other. A string of oval iron bells (*njuga*) with a pebble inside is tied just below his right knee, and he then shuffles forward alone, dragging his feet. He takes up his position between the two lines of dancers, one at each end of the room, and shuffles backwards and forwards between the two lines of dancers while waving the fly-switch and the calabash, and still jerking his shoulders as described above. The two lines of dancers move their shoulders in the same manner, but remain in the same place.

These proceedings are repeated twice a day, morning and evening, until the evening of the seventh day, when the session is prolonged through the night well on into the next day, sometimes even until mid-day.

During the last dance, the cloth over the head of the patient is allowed to drop on to his shoulders, and another white cloth is put on his head and is kept on by a cord being wound round the temples after the manner of the Beduins.

If the *pepo* has required the production of a goat amongst other things to be done for his propitiation, a male goat is now produced and brought to the door of the house. The patient comes out and strokes the goat, passing his right hand three times from its head along its back to its tail. He then gets astride of it and pretends to ride it like a horse, jumping up and down, and jerking his shoulders as before in time to the drumming.

If at any time the *pepo* calls for food, a small piece of bread is produced, on which is placed a speck of ambergris and musk, and it is then placed in the mouth of the patient, who eats it. A few raisins are also given, and a lump or two of sugar candy.

After the patient has got tired of riding the goat, the *fundi* asks the *pepo* in the presence of the assembled guests if he has received all he had asked for. The *pepo* says "yes." The *fundi* then asks him if he will ever seize the patient again, to which the *pepo* replies, "I will not seize him again," and thereupon he is considered to have taken his departure, and the patient goes to bed to sleep off his fatigue, and awakes later to find himself quite cured.

There are about fifty propitiatory songs for the *pepo ya ki-galla* known in Malindi.

The names of some of the *pepo ya ki-galla* who are believed to possess people in Malindi are as follows:—Guyo, Barsa, Godana, and Galgalo. All these are common Galla names.

The drums used are two *Vumi* drums, one *Chapuo* drum, and *Vitasa* cymbals, all described in the Shebwani dance.

Pepo ya Ki-sanye.

The ceremonies and medicines used to cast out a *pepo* of the Sanye tribe are exactly similar to those used in connection with a *pepo* of the Galla tribe. The only difference is that the pepo speaks the Sanye language through the medium

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

171 776 782 755 of the patient, and the propitiatory songs are also in the Sanye language, although Galla songs may also be sung effectively.

The names of the *pepo ya ki-sanye* who are believed to frequent Malindi are merely common Sanye names.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

PEPO YA KI-SHAKINI.

171 776 755 The people of Malindi[1] do not know here where the Shakini country is. They tell one vaguely that it is *mbarani mbali sana*, that is somewhere in the distant interior of Africa. The Shakini language is said to be understood by the Zigula people. The *pepo ya ki-shakini* is thought to have been introduced to Malindi by slaves brought from the interior, but very little is known of its origin.

The ceremonies which take place at the casting out of a *pepo ya ki-shakini* are exactly the same as those of the *pepo ya ki-galla*; the roots and leaves which make up the ingredients of the medicine used to make the *pepo* speak are, however, different, but the medicine is applied in the same way, that is by means of a Turkish bath.

The clothes worn by the patient when the dancing begins are similar to those worn by a person possessed of a *pepo ya ki-galla*, only the clothes are made of a dark blue cotton (*kaniki*) instead of white cotton (*amerikani*). The trousers worn may be made of blue cotton cloth or red cotton cloth (*bendera*). On the last day of the dance the white cloth worn on the head of the patient suffering from *pepo ya ki-galla* is replaced by a red or blue cloth secured on the head in the same way, by a cord bound round the temples. Formerly, when colobus monkey skins were obtainable, the head-dress consisted of a conical hat made from these skins, about a foot to fifteen inches high, in the shape of a dunce's cap with a peak to it in front, and the monkey's handsome tail hanging down behind. A leather breast-plate and back-plate connected by straps that hang over the shoulders are also worn as an ornament, being profusely decorated with beads and kauri shells. This is called a *torosi* (a Ki-rima word), and is worn on the last day of the dance.

171 776 755 535 782 The dancers of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* form a circle, one behind the other, and move round and round with short jerky steps in a direction opposite to that of the hands of a clock, and stamp their feet in time to the drums. They move the upper part of the body by alternatively throwing the chest forward and the shoulders back and then the shoulders forward and the chest in. The patient dances along with the others, and waves a fly-switch made from the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The *pepo* of the Shakini tribe are believed to be very fond of tembo, and the patient is given frequent libations of this drink. But he cannot tolerate the smell of mutton, and all cooking of this meat must be done at a distance while the patient is possessed of this *jin*.

On the last day of the dance a male goat may be produced if the

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

pepo so desires, and the same ceremony is gone through as for the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

The songs of praise of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* sung in Malindi amount to about twenty-five.

Some names of *pepos* of the Shakini tribe known here are, Shinga Kamba wa Goshi, Hotea, Shingwa Rambo wa Seraf, Giwa wa Mwenne Panganga Waso wa Jentangu.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

PEPO YA KI-RIMA.

The origin of these *pepo*, as their name indicates, is of course well known, but their introduction to the Malindi District dates only to nineteen years back.

The ceremonial followed is the same as that of the *pepo ya ki-galla*, and of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The head-dress is, however, different, and consists of what is called a *shumburere*, which is of exactly the same shape as a Mexican hat with a tall conical crown and a very wide brim. It is woven from the split fronds of the dom palm or the *mkindu* palm, the wild date. From the outer edge of the brim is suspended a fringe composed of strips of coloured cloth which hang down to the pit of the stomach in front, and to the same level at the back. The head and face of the patient are consequently completely hidden.

As in the Shakini *pepo* dance, the dancers follow each other round and round in a direction opposite to the hands of the clock, and perform the same steps and antics as in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The patient also waves in the same manner a fly-switch made out of the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The patient is anointed with castor oil as soon as he shows signs by jerks and twitches that he is about to begin to dance.

The *torosi* breast-plate and back-plate of leather are also worn by the patient in this dance, and a male goat is produced if so required by the *pepo*, and is ridden and danced round in the same manner as described in the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

There are some forty songs known in Malindi sung in praise of the *pepo ya ki-rima*.

Some names of these *pepo* known here are, Lairan wa Laitua, Laitoni wa Laimoran, Lukwalla wa Lugawane. They remind one of Nandi or Masai names.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

PEPO YA KI-NYIKA.

This is considered a benign form of *pepo* who does not cause the patient any great pain or ill, nothing more serious than a headache or a cough, which do not incapacitate the person possessed.

Native medicine is not usually given in order to make the spirit speak and say who he is and what he wants. He is generally recognised by the ache or pain he

12: Skene G,8-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

753 755 535 152 776

causes to the patient, and he is not exacting in his requirements of propitiation. Generally two or three days' dancing will satisfy him together with a large supply of boiled mealie-meal served with grilled fowl or goat. Sometimes as a special treat some *kunde* beans are mixed with the meal. This is given as a farewell dinner to the *pepo* after the dancing is finished. All the guests partake of it as well as the patient.

The dancing begins about 9 a.m., and lasts about an hour and a half. The patient then goes about his work as usual. In the evening the dancers reassemble and dance through the night with the patient. A line is formed, and one dancer at a time advances to where the drums are being played, jerks his shoulders about while bending over one of the drums for a few minutes, then suddenly stamping his foot he retires with a shuffling step back to his place in the line and another dancer goes forward and repeats the performance, and so on. The patient dances with the others, but is distinguished by having a fly-switch in one hand and a live fowl in the other, both of which he waves about.

The patient is dressed in two new dark blue cotton cloths (*kaniki*), worn as a Swahili woman wears her *leso*. No head-dress is worn. On the second day of the dance, if the patient is a woman, she exchanges her two dark blue cloths for a kilt such as the Nyika women wear.

During the dancing, the patient goes occasionally to a pot of cold water in which leaves of wild trees believed to have certain properties have been pounded and mixed up. He puts both hands into the pot and raises some of the liquid to his mouth and drinks. Having quenched his thirst he throws some of the liquid over each shoulder on to his back, and also pours some on his chest as if he were taking a bath.

At the end of the dance on the third day a meal is partaken of as stated above and the *pepo* departs.

The names of *pepo ya ki-nyika* known in Malindi are without number, and are similar to ordinary names at present heard amongst the various Nyika tribes. The songs of praise sung in honour of these *pepo* in Malindi are also numberless.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-gulla* dance.

PEPO YA KI-PEMBA.

171 776 758

As their name indicates, these "*pepo*" are supposed to come from the island of Pemba.

534

In order to make the *pepo* declare himself, the usual native medicine and Turkish bath are given. The patient is then dressed in two white cloths after the fashion of the *pepo ya ki-gulla*. He is placed on a stool, and as soon as the drumming begins he sways his body about in time to it, and ultimately jerks the stool which he sits on round the room. A *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sherha dance) is also played to the accompaniment of the drums. This jerking about on the stool goes on for seven days, and on the eighth day matting is laid on the floor. The

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

patient sits on the matting at one end, and proceeds to jerk himself forward to the other end. On reaching this he jerks backwards without turning round. This is a very laborious business and takes a good deal of effort.

On the eleventh day the patient assumes an upright position, and dances, standing up between two lines of dancers. He advances with short shuffling steps to the line of people in front of him. On getting within a couple of feet of them he begins to retire, shuffling backwards without turning round, and keeping his body bent forwards almost at a right angle with his lower limbs. He is followed by the line of dancers facing him, who dance the same shuffling step, and who keep within a couple of feet of him. On reaching the line of dancers behind him, he straightens his body and starts forward again, the line facing him then retiring and the line behind him following him. He waves a fly-switch in his hand, and a string of small oval iron bells, *njuga*, with pebbles inside, is tied round his right ankle.

No head-dress is worn by the patient, but a paste is made by pounding to a powder a certain scented wood called *udi*, and mixing it with water. This is applied all over the head. If no *udi* wood is available, the wood of the *muhuhu* is used. A black line about half an inch wide is also painted from the tip of the nose over the head to the back of the neck.

On the last day of the dance, fruits and delicacies in very small quantities are laid before the patient, who eats a little of each for the benefit of the *pepo*.

If the *pepo* demands it, and the financial position of the patient will allow of it, a white bull or a male goat is produced on the last day, and is ridden and danced round by the patient as described in the ceremonies which take place to expel a *pepo ya ki-galla*, after which the *pepo* departs from the sick person.

The names of some of the *pepo* known in Malindi are, Mwana Mashungi wa Ukulu, Kekecha wa Mawamba, Makata wa Mapinga, Maungua wa Maamba. A great many propitiatory songs are also known at Malindi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

PEPO YA KI-HABSHI.

The Abyssinian spirit is not believed to have seized anyone at Malindi yet, and very little is known about it here. It is, however, believed to have possessed people in Zanzibar and Kismayu.

PEPO YA KI-ARABU.

The ceremonies which are gone through to expel a *pepo* of this variety constitute a type which is followed with slight variations in exorcising almost all the *jins* believed to belong to Moslem tribes.

The fundamental difference between the method of treating heathen *pepo* and Moslem *pepo* consists in the substitution of strong perfumes for the Turkish bath method, in order to induce the *pepo* to declare himself.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

776 755 [782] The preliminaries are the same as those described in the *pepo ya ki-galla* up to the point where it becomes necessary to ascertain what the *pepo* requires as a bribe or propitiation to depart from the body of the person whose sickness he is believed to be causing.

In order to get this information from the *pepo*, a mixture is made of rose water, ambergris, musk, saffron and camphor. Using this as an ink, the *fundi* writes on a plate the name of Allah with His various attributes (the all-powerful, the all-merciful, etc.), also the names of some of the archangels. The writing being completed, it is carefully and reverently washed off the plate into a cup with a little more of the mixture above mentioned. The contents of the cup are then given to the invalid to drink, and incense is also burnt beside him. In a short time the *pepo* comes into the head of the patient and states who he is and what he wishes.

776 755 535 Arrangements are then made for a dance, and guests are invited in the usual way. New white cloths are put on the patient, who wears them in the same way as *lesos* are worn by Swahili women. A pair of trousers, tight at the ankle, is also worn.

The patient sits on a stool and gradually begins to sway his body in time to the drumming. Later on the swaying becomes more and more accentuated, till it develops into jerks of the body of sufficient violence to move the stool, on which the patient sits, all about the room. Ultimately he becomes sufficiently excited to stand up and dance with a sort of gliding step, backwards and forwards between two lines of dancers, who imitate his step and gestures. In each of his hands is placed a small white flag, on which is written the verse of the Koran *Ayat ul kursi*. The flag in his left hand he holds over his left shoulder, and the one in his right hand he waves about. A *maharuma* or Beduin head-dress is secured on his head, but if none is available an ordinary white cap will do. On standing up to dance the patient must change his clothes. He discards his two white cloths, and if the *pepo* who possesses him has been ascertained to be a male he dons a white *kanzu* as worn by men. If the *pepo* is a female, then a short *kanzu* of some coloured material or, if possible, of silk such as the Arab women of Muscat wear, is put on by the patient.

If a male *pepo* seizes a man, or a female *pepo* a woman, there is believed to be little hope of the recovery of the patient, whose fate is practically sealed. If on the other hand a *pepo* of one sex seizes a human being of the opposite sex, then the recovery of the patient is assured.

The drumming is accompanied by songs in Arabic appropriate to the occasion, and usually in praise of the spirit.

755 782 At the end of the dance on the last day, a feast is given to the *pepo*, with delicacies consisting of small quantities of Turkish delight (*halua*), powdered white sugar, white lump sugar, moist sugar, sugar candy, almonds, raisins, milk, eggs, young cocoanuts (*dafu*), but of the pale coloured variety, rose scent, scented oil and European scents.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

If the patient can afford it, a white bull is produced and, dressed in his best turban with dagger and sword, the patient mounts it like a horse. It is then led round and round the dancing ring in the open, while he flourishes his sword and shows off generally. If the patient is a woman, the dagger and sword are dispensed with.

Some names of Arab *pepo* known in Malindi are, Maruhani bin Kaftan, Luranni bin Dervess, Rikh bin Zariha. Duban bin Dabran, Amir Ghaish bin Sudian, Jinwi bin Jinan, Hodeida binti Jabal Duhan, Sharua binti Haruta, Saida binti Saida, Saida binti Kisti, Zilzalla binti Harun bin Alwan.

The patriarch Noah is said to have had great ascendancy over Arab *pepo*, and each time his name is mentioned the *pepo* will give a start.

The *pepo ya ki-arabu* are the only *pepo* who appear to have sex distinction. All the other seem to be sexless.

Tari, or tambourines, described in the Chama dance, and a *vumi* drum, described in the Shebwani dance, are used.

PEPO YA KI-NUBI.

This *pepo* is unknown in Malindi, but used frequently to seize people in Takaungu, and does still occasionally. His introduction to that town took place at the time when Said Bargbash, Sultan of Zanzibar, maintained a garrison there under Liwali Salim bin Hamis, father of the present titular chief of the Mazrui tribe, Rashid bin Salim. Some of the *askaris* of the garrison were Sudanese, and the introduction of the *pepo ya ki-nubi* is without doubt due to them.

This *jin* is a Moslem, and the preliminary ceremonies carried out to make him speak are the same as for the *pepo ya Ki-arabu*. He is not an exacting spirit, and two or three days' dancing and drumming will satisfy him. He does not require any *sadaka* to induce him to speak, but will eat ordinary food, and in the matter of raiment, any clothes will do. In fact he is a mild fellow, and is rarely the cause of any serious ailment.

On the arrival of the guests, a ring is formed in the open, the dancers facing inward with the sick person amongst them. They move round and round the circle in the opposite direction to the hands of the clock, jumping and jerking their shoulders about. The drums, consisting of three *msondo* (described in the Ki-Nyasa dance), are played in the centre of the ring, together with the *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sherha dance). The dancing begins at 3 p.m. and goes on well into the middle of the night. This is repeated for two or three days.

The last dance continues right through the night to the next morning, when the dancers disperse. As the dance is just about to break up, the sick person makes a rush to a cauldron placed a few paces away from the dancing ring, and filled with water. He plunges his head and shoulders into the water, and the *fundi* and several muscular friends hold his head under water until he begins to struggle from loss of breath. They let him struggle for a minute or so, and then release him.

171 Instantly he makes a dash back to the dancing ring and prostrates himself on the
776 ground near the drums, probably from exhaustion. But he is not given much time
755 to consider what ails him, for he is closely followed by the *fundi* armed with a
635 *bakora* or cane, who rouses him with a smart cut across the shoulders. The patient jumps up in fear of receiving another blow of the *bakora* and is surprised to find himself quite cured. He returns home to sleep off his fatigue.

Some names of *pepo ya ki-nubi* are Fatuma wa Abdalla, Abdeh wa Hamdeh, Tai wa Yusuf, Saida wa Abana.

There are no *fundis* of *pepo ya ki-nubi* at Malindi, and it is doubtful if any remain at Takaungu.

PEPO YA KI-SOMALI.

776 This *pepo* being a Moslem, the preliminary ceremonies are exactly the same as
535 those which take place in connection with the *pepo ya ki-arabu*.
755

The dancing is also similar to that of the Arab *pepo*, but is much more rapid.

When the sick man is able to get up and dance he puts on Somali clothes instead of Arab clothes. He also flourishes two small flags with sacred words on them. If he rides a bull on the last day of the dance, he flourishes a spear instead of a sword as the Arab *pepo* does.

[534] The drums used are the *tari* (described in the Chama dance), and they are beaten in very quick time.

The names of the Somali *pepo* are the same as modern names common to Somalis.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-arabu* dance.

PEPO NG'OMBE.

776 This *pepo* is said to make the unfortunate person who gets it low like a cow. It
755 is considered a dangerous *pepo*, and many people do not get rid of it without paralysis of some of their limbs or of one whole side of the body.

The procedure followed to make the *pepo* speak is the same as that in cases of *pepo ya ki-galla*, that is to say the Turkish bath.

The *pepo ng'ombe* speaks Swahili, but in a hesitating manner, and interlarded with bovine noises. Grass must be cut and brought in to him to eat. If no grass is given he will try to get out of the house to go and grase. Water must be given to him to drink in a bucket or other large receptacle, into which he puts his face and drinks like a cow. Some of the water must be thrown over the body of the patient, for, if this is not done, rigidity of the limbs is believed to set in.

If the patient's mouth begins to twist to one side, the case is considered to have entered a very serious phase, and another Turkish bath is given. The patient is rubbed with castor oil, but no other sort of grease must be brought near him, nor any kind of perfume or scent.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

As soon as the patient is strong enough, dark blue cotton clothes are put on him as in the manner of the *pepo yu ki-shakini*, and he then sits up, and ultimately as he gets stronger he takes part in the dancing, which is of the same style as that of the *pepo yu ki-shakini*. He also wears a *shumburere* hat and a *torosi* (described in the *pepo yu ki-shakini*), and waves a fly-switch. The dance may be protracted to three weeks, as the illness is sometimes very stubborn. A person who has once suffered from *pepo ng'ombe* can never again tolerate the sight or smell of beef, whether raw or cooked, and sometimes even faints at the sight of it.

On being questioned as to where they come from, the *pepo ngombe* state that their home is in Guran at Bwana Manolo's. There is no country known in Malindi by this name.

Some of the names of *pepo ngombe* known in Malindi are: Darsheh wa Losinga, Darsan wa Bwana Manolo, Darwesh wa Bwana Msija, Lisiji wa Mpinde, Suta wa Bwana Darwasi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo yu ki-galla* dance.

Pepo ya Punda.

This is a most serious illness, the majority of cases proving fatal. The name *pepo punda* is due to the noises which the patient makes, and which may be assimilated, with a good stretch of imagination, to the braying of a donkey. There is, however, no similarity at all, the noises made by the patient being merely hollow groans of pain, for the disease is extremely painful, and from the symptoms there is no doubt whatever that the *pepo punda* is tetanus.

The patient cannot speak. No drumming or dancing is allowed. Native medicine only is given to drive out the *pepo*. This medicine consists of a mixture of the following ingredients: *koto* (a root imported from Arabia), *udi-il-karah* (an astringent wood from Arabia), *arkisus* (a wood with a taste like pepper, from Arabia), *habbasoda* (a small seed like a cummin seed, but black, from Arabia), *khardal-filfil* (a root from Arabia with a taste like mustard), common black pepper, *yayi leusi* (a seed like blasting powder with a bitter taste, from Arabia), mustard seed, garlic, *shimari* (a seed like cummin seed), *mtari* (dried aromatic leaves imported from Arabia), also the horn or hoof of a black cow pounded up to powder. All these ingredients are boiled together and given to the unfortunate patient to drink.

A piece of hard wood scraped clean is placed between the teeth so as to allow of his being given medicine after the lower jaw has become rigid.

As soon as the spine of the sick person becomes arched, a fire is lighted in the sick room. A mixture is then made from donkey's dung, dog's excreta, garlic, *mvuje*, (asafœtida), sulphur and *sunduso* (a black kind of seaweed). All this is made into a paste by the addition of castor-oil, and lumps of it are cast on to the fire, from

which then emanates acrid smoke with an appalling smell. This is supposed to relieve the patient.

Natives do not know the origin of the *pepo punda*, and are extremely afraid of it. Happily it is not very frequent in Malindi.

NOTE.—The description of the above dances has been compiled by a civil officer of experience who has a thorough knowledge of Swahili. Many of the dances have undoubtedly been brought from Arabia by the Muscat Arabs, others were probably brought in by the Nabahana and the Vumba chiefs who came from Shiraz in Persia about A.D. 1100. The hypnotic seizures described in some of the ceremonies are well known in Africa, particularly among the Akamba people; the phenomena would well repay investigation by a medical psychologist.—C. W. HOBLEY. Mombasa.

NOTES BY A. WERNER.

p. 415, l. 33.—This, or some similar event, followed by faction-fighting, has been celebrated by Muhamadi bin Abubakari Kijumé, of Lamu, in a poem called *Utendi wa Mkonumbi*.

p. 419.—The Kinyago. This (called *unyago* by the Yaos and *chinyao* by the Anyanja) takes place at the initiation of young people in Nyasaland. For particulars, see Rattray, *Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 178, 179.

p. 420.—A list of *pepo*, with the appropriate exorcisms, songs, etc., as used in the Mrima region (the mainland opposite Zanzibar) is given in Velten's *Desturi za Waswahili*, pp. 149–167. The Arab *zar*, described for Mecca by Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (The Hague, 1889), vol. ii, pp. 124–128), belongs to the same category.

p. 426.—The Wasanye in the Malindi district all speak Galla, but they say their old language is still spoken by the Waboni in the Witu territory.

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932. MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

302 Women, according to a visitor from that locality, have no special hair customs in Hadhramaut other than shaving round the temple to show as wide an expanse of forehead as possible.

EXORCISM, SPIRITS, JINNS, SACRIFICES.[1]

[771] The mountaineers, although normally belonging to the *Shafi* sect of Islam, are full of pagan
754 cults which excite the ire of the orthodox Moslem visitor. I have already in my paper under
753 reference explained the details of Ra'aba Hamra spirit exorcism and snake-bite cure—the
752 imprecations in the Shahara tongue of the mountains, the raising and lowering of bodies, the spitting on the wound. At Shisur I noticed that the proceedings were terminated by a rifle fired into the air. That, however, is the procedure for the "Evil Eye," so here this bravery was dispensed with. The cure did not work, however, and was followed by another next day. This, called Habil, was a kind of divination and propitiation. The practitioner, rope in hand, sat about three paces from his patient. A third party was called to hold the end of the rope. Taking an arbitrary length of it with the thumb and forefinger of one hand, the practitioner measured the outstretched length of it with his disengaged arm by means of forearm's length, hand span and finger breadth. The operation he repeated three times, each occasion preceded by a pause to bend his head low over the rope and shake his head, making a curious burbling noise with his lips, and to take a handful of sand which he sprinkled up and down the rope. In conclusion he looked up at his patient and gave him the following remedy: "at sunset take so many dates and so much *samn* (butter) and go and cast it away upon the sands."

754 These mountain tribes are much afraid of the Evil Eye, not only for themselves, but equally
755 for their flocks and herds. The ceasing of lactation is invariably ascribed to *Ain Balis*. The cure is frankincense. I witnessed the ceremony on occasion and made a cinema film of it, though it is usually performed at sunrise or at sunset. The incense burner was brought and wood introduced and lighted. The practitioner, the cow-owner, broke a fragment of frankincense about the size of a walnut into three pieces. Then spitting upon it three times he introduced it into the burner. While two other witnesses held the afflicted animal by head and leg [illegible]ely, he waved about its head the burning frankincense, chanting a set sacrificial chant.

782 For human sickness a cow or a sheep is sacrificed, the blood being sprinkled over the patient's shoulders and breasts when the sun is high overhead; the animal must be female. For sacrifices at human deaths, male and female animals are alike held virtuous.

753 A Sayid met me in the mountains and asked me whether I knew of anything to pacify
● 776 *Afarit*. His wife had had a series of miscarriages. *Afarit* were the cause. There are many evil spirits—*Afarit*, *jinns*, *jinnyat* and *Zars*. *Zars*[2] are the most accommodating, *jinns* sometimes yield, but *Afarit*—they are Allah's worst affliction.

782 The sacrifice of animals in case of death varies with the importance and wealth of the
556 deceased. In small and average estates one half of his cows are sacrificed. In big estates

[1] Detailed descriptions will be found in my *Arabia Felix* (Jonathan Cape, 1932).

[2] A detailed description of the "Zar" cult as practised in Oman is given in my *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (Allen and Unwin, 1931).

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2.

exceeding 40 cows, 20 cows are the limit, may be a camel and a few sheep as well. In the case of a poor man, perhaps a single cow or sheep. Two cows are slaughtered near the grave of the deceased on the day of burial (*i.e.* death generally), if overnight, a third cow. Two nights are allowed to pass and on the third night a cow is slaughtered. This is called *khutum*. A further period elapses varying according to the economic condition of the deceased's relatives. It may be so little as a fortnight or so much as three months when the big sacrifice takes place, may be of 10, 15 or 20 cows respresenting half of the deceased man's herds. This is called *yom el nahaira*. Both *khutum* and *nahaira* are performed at the place where the man lived and not upon his grave. More cows will be sacrificed by relatives and friends of the deceased towards whose families in his lifetime he has acted similarly. This vast slaughter attracts the whole neighbourhood and the sectional tribe of the dead man divide up the flesh for themselves, and go away under their great burdens. Visitors from other tribes have no such rights, but partake of the feast of cooked meat for which one cow will have been roasted for the occasion.

There is a widespread belief in *Subiro*, *i.e.* spirits of the departed and their power for good and evil. In the Wadi Rizat I came upon scraps of food and tobacco in the pool beneath where the spring comes gushing out of a cavern. The locals emerge at night to throw morsels on the ground or into the pool shouting, "We are your sons and your daughters—don't harm us. Be awake so that we are not harmed by *Jins* (human kind) or *Jinns*."

Nughush they call this casting of bread upon the waters. In theory these spirits brood over running water only: they are amenable to kind treatment and treat mankind in the same way that they are treated by mankind.

The people of Jurbaib, lower down, sacrifice a cow before the harvest after it has made a circuit of the crops—its blood being drained into the irrigation ducts. Bits of its flesh are cast amongst the growing grass.

This spring of Rizat was in old days the subject of a notorious government case. Bait Zaiyan, a section of the Shahara, claimed the exclusive right to practise *nughush* in it. The Qara overlords who wished to share in the benefits of ghostly grace demanded to go "fifty-fifty" in the sacrifice. The government wali, in order to make government itself a partner in the scheme and share in the crops of the plains, decided that both parties would receive exactly equal quantities of food from government so that there should be no cheating. But in later years the slave soldiers of government, becoming overbearing in their treatment of Bait Zaiyan, the latter called upon the departed spirits of their forefathers who promptly made the water run up hill, so that the crops in the plains withered and died, whereupon government's share lapsed.

Cases of virtue held to be latent in certain dying animals I met with on several occasions. The highly valued contents of the antelope's bladder for man, and its stomach for camels, may be purely a rational custom, but that cannot be said of a raven I had shot. While it lay dying a Badu asked for its heart, which he proposed thus to eat raw and palpitating. This was, he said, a protection to his own heart from evil influence, its bile also which he proposed mixing with kohl with which to annoint his eyelids. The Shahari who killed my biggest cobra,